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heard are the serenades of romantic youths, an occasional drunken peasant being taken home, and the animals.

Drinking water is supplied by a spring in one of the surrounding hills. The water is carried to street fountains by iron pipes which were first laid in 1902. Every barrio except San Pedro has one or more of these fountains. In the large barrios, fountains are placed at strategic street corners and are more numerous. In all there

Fig. 13. The end of the main street, Tepoztlán.

are twenty-six public fountains in the village. Most of them are made of clay and cement; some are semi-enclosed and protected by a roof, generally topped by a cross; others are merely open tanks. (See Fig. 14.)

A few homes near the center have water piped directly into their patios or kitchens. For this privilege a small tax is paid to the municipio. There is no attempt to control private use of the public water supply, and this has in the past caused some conflict. In several instances, persons with a private water supply permit relatives, friends, or *compadres* to take as much water as they wish; sometimes a neighbor will connect his water pipe to that of another, thus avoiding the tax. This uncontrolled use sometimes greatly decreases the flow of water into the nearest public fountain, particularly during the dry season when water is scarce. There have been

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occasions when groups of angry residents, headed by a political leader, have broken into houses to cut off the private water supply that was draining the public one.

THE BARRIOS

The village is divided into seven barrios or named locality groupings, each with its own church, patron saint, and internal religious organization.[9] (See Fig. 15.) The barrios of today are essentially religious organizations, but also have important social functions. Redfield believed the barrios were pre-Hispanic survivals of the ancient *calpolli*, an interpretation to be questioned in the light of our data. He wrote:

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it

Fig. 15. The barrios of Tepoztlán.

appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed, based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.

With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military,

[9] In the following pages I have listed *eight* barrios rather than *seven*, because families on twenty-nine house sites in the barrio of Santo Domingo think of themselves as a separate unit owing allegiance to the barrio of Santa Cruz. I have therefore treated these twenty-nine house sites as a separate unit and have referred to them as Santa Cruz (small) in distinction to Santa Cruz (large), since Santa Cruz is the barrio to which they pay taxes.

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Another document written four years later gives the fullest account we have of the officials and the political organization of the village.[38] This document lists the same officials as the one of 1575, but in addition lists many others, including the church officials. The document reveals clearly the integration of church and state, and is interesting in that it reveals the existence of a remarkably large government bureaucracy, certainly when compared with present conditions in the village.

From the latter part of the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century we have little data on political history in Tepoztlán. Before the Revolution, from about 1880 to 1910, Tepoztlán was governed by local *caciques* who held power with the aid and support of the Díaz regime. Older informants remember back to the time of the *cacique* Felipe Gómez, who was the president of the municipio for a number of years beginning about 1880. Tradition has it that Gómez was dictatorial. He sold wood from the communal lands to the neighboring haciendas and pocketed the money. He prevented the Tepoztecans from opening *tlacolol* and from producing charcoal for sale. Those who protested were recruited into the army or sent to the penitentiary, Quintana Roo. Finally the villagers rose against him and he was murdered in his house, which was in the center of the village where the new school now stands.

Gómez was followed by Vicente Ortega, a famous *cacique* who was in office from about 1887 to 1910. It was during his regime that the Wells Fargo Company built the Mexico City–Cuernavaca Railroad which runs through the municipio. The coming of the railroad led to much internal tension in the village; it was opposed by Tepoztecans who accused Ortega and the government in power of selling out to the gringos. It is said that Ortega received one peso for each tree cut down by the railroad workers, and that much of the income enriched him. However, it must be noted that this money was also utilized for public improvements in the village. The water pipeline was put in in 1902, the Palacio Municipal was built a few years earlier, the market place was improved, and oil lamps were set up on the main street to provide night lighting.

During the Ortega regime, in 1893, there was a small and abortive attempt to overthrow him. The story of this incident is told in the autobiography of one of my informants and is here paraphased.

> In 1893 a man by the name of Canuto Neri, of the state of Guerrero, headed a small armed uprising against the Díaz government. A Tepoztecan, Roberto Ibarra, sympathized with the movement and sought to enlist support for it in the village. He managed to recruit twenty men who met secretly and Ibarra was made a colonel. Three nights later they started the rebellion by shooting off their guns in the plaza and crying "Death to Vicente Ortega." However, Ortega was not frightened. He armed his servants and waited for the rebels to come for him. But the insurrectionists were frightened and went home. Colonel Ibarra, however, left for the town of Tlayacapan to see his *compadre* Quiroz, who was also in the plan for the uprising and had the rank of general. Ibarra related

[38] *Ibid.*, Exp. 252. See Chapter 4, "Economics: General Aspect and Historical Background," p. 92, for the officials listed in this document.

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leading Mexican banker who wanted to build a home in the village negotiated for over a year before he succeeded in buying a modest-sized idle plot of land whose owner was living in Mexico City. By 1956, Tepoztecans had sold almost forty plots to as many outsiders for building homes in the village and in the lovely valley below. Tepoztecan middlemen are now speculating in land because of the steadily rising prices. A village site valued at about 50 centavos per square meter in 1943 sold in 1957 for as much as 12 pesos a meter (100 centavos to the peso).

Tepoztlán has become an international tourist colony. The non-Tepoztecan home owners now include native Mexicans, naturalized Mexican citizens of Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and Italian ancestry, and a few Americans. Few of these people live in the village the year around but spend their holidays and vacations there. The construction of thirty-five new homes for the foreign colony has given employment to some Tepoztecan masons and day laborers. Some of the building materials—stone, sand, and tiles—also have been purchased locally. A number of the families have taken Tepoztecan girls as domestic servants both in the village and in their Mexico City or United States homes, and about a dozen Tepoztecans have jobs as caretakers. The colony also provides some additional income to local meat and milk dealers and other merchants. On the whole, the "foreigners" form few friendships in the village and except for the *Carnaval* participate very little in village affairs. It is said that most of the outsiders opposed the campaign to bring electricity to Tepoztlán for fear that it might spoil the primitive rustic quality of the village. It should be noted that among the non-Tepoztecans who have lived in the village are some of Mexico's leading intellectuals and artists and a few doctors. Some of these men have taken a great interest in the villagers and have helped them in their efforts to build a new high school, to obtain city water, and most recently (June 1958) to procure electricity.

Other forms of tourism have also grown rapidly and tourist facilities have improved. Most important has been the conversion of the banker's private home into one of the most charming resorts in Mexico, the *Posada del Tepozteco*. Since the late forties, Mexican and Hollywood movie producers have used Tepoztlán as the setting for a number of movies.

Since 1943, educational facilities have been expanded in the village. Two new schools built in the larger barrios gave the village a total of four elementary schools. Attendance rose from about 750 in 1950 to over 900 in 1956. In 1950, a high school was completed, and attendance rose from 54 in the first year to 110 in 1956. Boys still predominate over girls in both elementary and high schools. The surrounding villages have begun to reach out for higher education and now send their children to the central high school in Tepoztlán. Each year a number of Tepoztecan high-school graduates go on to the university in Mexico City.

In the past ten years bus travel to Cuernavaca has almost doubled and travel to Mexico City also has increased. On an average week day approximately 500 Tepoztecans take the bus to Cuernavaca to work, shop, study, sell produce, and to find recreation. Some of the peasants now think it worthwhile to take the bus to their *milpas*, a distance of two or three kilometers, rather